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THE
INFLUENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS
IN THE MAKING OF THE
ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH
AND THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC,

WITH

NOTICE OF WHAT THE PILGRIMS LEARNED IN HOLLAND, THEIR TREAT-
MENT BY THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, AND ANSWERS
TO CRITICISMS MADE UPON THE PROPOSED
DELFSHAVEN MEMORIAL.

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE BOSTON CONGREGATIONAL CLUB,

MONDAY EVENING, OCT. 20, 1891,

By WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D.,

CHAIRMAN OF THE DELFSHAVEN MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, AND PRINTED BY
THEIR ORDER.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

GIFT

THE writer in sending forth this pamphlet, written since his return from a visit to the Netherlands and the eastern counties of England, cannot thank by name all the kind friends, Dutch, English, and American, who have given him hints and suggestions, or answered his questions. He must, however, especially thank the Rev. Daniel Van Pelt, D.D., of New York City, Rev. John Todd, D.D., of Tarrytown, and Douglas Campbell, Esq., of Schenectady, N. Y. In the forthcoming volume of the latter, entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America," will be found fully argued, illustrated, and, I believe, demonstrated, certain claims as to American history at which the writer has in this paper only hinted. It is a matter of regret, also, that lack of time, space, and money does not permit the writer to increase the size and expense of this pamphlet, by giving in full the references to books and authors which furnish the basis of authority for the statements made. In a course of reading begun some years ago, when pastor of the Reformed Protestant [Dutch] Church in Schenectady, N. Y., and lately refreshed by a visit to Europe, the writer has consulted the historians of English Nonconformity, and the local annalists of the eastern counties of England, as well as the standard writers, such as Hume, Macaulay, Hallam, Freeman, Stubbs, Green, Carlyle, Froude, Maine, Masson, Goadby, Thorold Rogers, de Gibbins, Sotherden Burns, etc., besides the old authorities, Strype, Parker, Hollinshead, Lord Somers, and many pamphlets and monographs of the period between 1580 and 1640. In matters concerning Holland,—the dark side of the moon to most English and American historians, since among the great number of writers on English-American, or Congregational history, a critical knowledge of Netherlandish history is as rare as a Dutch library or shelf of books in an American or English college,—I have little obligation to acknowledge to writers in English. Besides consulting Carleton, Davies, Brodhead, Steven, Motley, the Pilgrim autographs, and the printed works of the great illuminator of Pilgrim history, the late Dr. H. M. Dexter, I have depended on the statements of Wagenaar, Bor, Groen Van Prinsterer, the Ryks (national Dutch) archives, and the help so kindly afforded me by Dutch scholars both in the Fatherland and in America.

Unable to boast one drop of either Dutch or Pilgrim blood, the writer herein sets forth, as a student of history, some of the results of his reading and reflection, and of those experiences of the Dutch in America, Japan, and Europe, into which Divine Providence has led him. The outcome of researches, necessarily critical in their nature, is a more profound admiration and reverence for the Pilgrim Fathers and mothers alike—and the attainment of full faith in both the absolute truth and personal sincerity of Governor Bradford's two messages from Plymouth to the Dutch at Manhattan, March, 1627, and Oct. 1, Anno 1627: "Acknowledging ourselves tied in a strict obligation unto your country and state, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy under your most honorable Lords and States;" "for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us." What if it has taken "nearly two centuries and a quarter to discover" what all the Pilgrims knew and Bradford has recorded? Is it ever too late to do a good thing? Not so thought the Rev. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs. In his oration on "The Puritan Spirit," in Boston, December 18, 1889, he said: "A monument has been raised to them (the founders of New England) at Plymouth, on a spot near which they landed. It is wholly fitting that another be raised, as is now, I learn, proposed, on the site of their departure from the Old World to the New. The two should stand as answering towers,—Martello towers,—commemorating hearts that were as resonant iron, and words that were hammers; between which the unfailling wires of reverent remembrance shall bind not Delishaven and Plymouth alone, but all the hearts fearless of man and steadfast for righteousness in both the continents."

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Mr. President and Members of the Boston Congregational Club:—

ON the 24th of February, 1889, your servant was appointed by the President of this Club, Mr. Charles Carleton Coffin, chairman of a committee of five gentlemen charged with the inauguration of an enterprise designed to do honor to both the Pilgrims and their hosts in Holland. Efforts were at once made to enlist public interest and support of the enterprise. Criticisms, however, came from an unexpected quarter, and historical questions were raised which, for their settlement, required an examination of the sources of authority. There were special reasons existing then, which no longer obtain, why the prosecution of the Delfshaven* Memorial enterprise should remain in abeyance. The Committee of the National Congregational Council, charged with the erection of a tablet to the memory of John Robinson, to be affixed to St. Peter's Church in Leyden, had not yet finished their work. The right of way was therefore cheerfully accorded to those who had first proposed to honor the noble, self-effacing pastor and leader.

For the settlement of the historical questions raised by critics of the larger enterprise inaugurated by this Club, it was necessary that those who defended it should not be content with second-hand opinions, but form their judgments independently, after examination of the sources of authority. Accordingly the writer made a special trip to the Netherlands and to the eastern counties of England, spending a month in each of these countries, seeking new facts, and refreshing the memory, also, of a line of readings begun some years ago and continued to the present time. The result has been the confirmation of judgments to which, as a student and independent investigator, he came some years ago.

Waiving all further introduction, I shall enter at once upon my theme, which is, The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic; the outlines of which are as follows:—

I. The influence of the Netherlands upon England generally.

*The modern spelling, Delfshaven, is used in this paper.

II. Upon that part of England from which the settlers of New England almost wholly came; viz., the eastern counties.

III. Upon the Pilgrims while in Holland, with answers to special criticisms.

IV. Upon the tens of thousands of Englishmen, whether refugees, soldiers, merchants, or scholars, who lived in the Dutch Republic from 1580 to 1640.

V. Upon Cromwell, his army, the English Parliamentarians, and the temporary Republic, or Commonwealth.

VI. Upon the Puritan settlers and political life of New England.

VII. Upon local, state, and national government in this American Republic, both in the colonial and the constitution-making epochs, with a final glance at the relations between Holland and the United States.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, when in 1509 Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the contrast in wealth, culture, and civilization between England and the Netherlands was as much to the disadvantage of the former, as the contrast in point of political and commercial importance is to-day the reverse.

Then in the fine arts, music, civic architecture, painting, science, learning, agriculture, inventions, organized industries, navigation, finance, political science, and local freedom, the people of the Netherlands were among the leaders of Europe. Feudalism, which had so long checked the growth of popular liberty elsewhere, had taken less hold of Holland than of any country in Europe. In Frisia, the original home of the Anglo-Saxons and the largest of the Dutch provinces, it had never been known. In other parts of the Netherlands the development of town life, in the form of municipal republics, checked the growth of feudal tyranny. The walled cities, so much richer and more numerous than in England, were fortresses of local freedom. Hallam well says that "their self-government goes beyond any assignable date." The clergy had never been allowed to become one of the estates of the realm, so that the Dutch were saved from spiritual tyranny petrified in the form of a king, or house of lords, or legislature. In all Europe the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* was the rule. The Dutch were the first to reverse this rule, that the people must be of the same religion as the

ruler, and to declare that the ruler must be of the same religion as the people. They were the first to stand for the principle, and to fight for it and secure it, "No taxation without the consent of the taxed." They were the first to teach, by revolt against despotism, that power, under God, originates with the people; that government exists for nations, and not nations for government. In many respects Holland is the land of first things in modern Christian civilization. Here art was first made the servant of the home, glorifying the things of common life, and the people rather than kings and nobles. Here science was made the quick heritage of the multitude. Here religion and reformation were not the possession and work of princes and aristocrats, but of the masses. Here, first, to cite a few out of many examples, were practiced wood engraving, and the cheap illustration of books, the weaving of linen underclothing, the reform of the calendar, and the abolition of witchcraft; here were invented the pendulum clock, the telescope, spectacles, and a host of modern comforts.

Besides this growth of scores of little municipal republics, checking, first, feudalism and then arbitrary rule, the exceptional dissemination of books, of common-school education, and of the Bible in the vernacular, explain largely why, in the sixteenth century, a strong republic sprang up in Northern Europe, federal, Protestant, tolerant, and free.

Through the wonderful activity of that fraternity of teachers, begun about 1360, called the Brethren of the Common Life, the Netherlands had the first system of common schools in Europe. These schools flourished in every large town and almost in every village, so that popular education was the rule. The Netherlands, as soon as they became a republic, insured their spiritual independence by immediately establishing institutions of education. They founded universities in Leyden, Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht, and Harderwyck. Soon after movable types were invented Holland became the printing office of Europe, and the home of vernacular, as well as of classic learning. The Bible was translated as early as 1477, the same year in which the National Parliament, or States-General, first assembled. As soon as it was translated it was printed and widely circulated. Before ever there was a Bible printed in England, the common

people of the Netherlands had bought and read twenty-four editions of the Dutch New Testament, and fifteen editions of the entire Bible. The Bible was thus not in manuscript, inaccessible to poor men, or furtively copied in scraps and portions, but within the reach of all. There was no other nation in Europe so saturated with Bible ideas, and this fact explains the religious history and political energy of the Dutch. The Netherlands furnished the first martyrs of the Reformation, as well as the greatest number. Esch and Voets were burnt to death as heretics, July 1, 1523, forty years before the first under Bloody Mary of England, and their praises were sung by Luther.

This general reading of the Bible by the quick-witted and serious people who had conquered the sea, and won the mastery over nature in art, industry, and science, made them also hate tyrants and love self-government. True, it also made many sects besides the State Reformed Church, and among these first organized in power were the Anabaptists,—one of the most misrepresented of all bodies of men, persecuted by Protestants and Catholics alike, and only now vindicated by modern research. Out of the Anabaptists sprang the Baptists and the Quakers, two of the most democratic denominations, under whom two of our freest and noblest American States—Rhode Island and Pennsylvania—were settled. The Anabaptists—that is, the re-baptizers—were all Congregationalists in church polity. Each church was a unit and a republic by itself, their only officers being pastors and deacons; while the Mennonites, who originated in Holland, were not only Congregational in polity, but the foundation principle was what is now the cardinal doctrine of American political life—the utter separation of church and state. Persecuted by all state churches, their children found toleration in Pennsylvania, where they produced, in their “Book of Martyrs,” the largest and the finest piece of printing and bookmaking ever done in the American colonies. We shall, further on, try to show that not only this idea of the separation of church and state, but nearly all the political institutions peculiarly American, came out of Holland, and not out of England.

In brief, in the sixteenth century the common people of the Netherlands, owing to their great mechanical, agricultural, and nautical skill, their intelligence and their diversified industries,

were—what we like to say of Americans to-day—the best fed, the best clothed, the best educated, and the most religious people in the world. The Dutch were Calvinists, and, somehow, Calvinism never breeds despotism or poverty. Motley, in telling their story, grandly as he has done it, has practically left out the mainspring of all—the Dutchman's intense faith in God. Motley is too much of a partisan not only for the Dutch against the Spaniard, but of one school of Dutch writers. Above all, Motley is dramatic, and the very brilliancy of his antitheses and rhetoric blinds the average reader to the moral grandeur of the facts he arrays. In spite of Motley's prodigious industry and superb learning, he is the slave of one author, the Dutch historian Wagenaar, while there are large stores of evidence and authority into which he never looked. Some of his subjective judgments, the result of his prejudices, will not stand as the verdict of dispassionate history.

Contemporaneously, England presented a marked contrast with the Netherlands. She had a population of but two and a-half millions. Only one fourth, even, of her arable land was cultivated, the remainder being wild, sterile, or fallow land, woods filled with wild beasts, or a great stretch of marsh and fen, which included six eastern counties of England. Only one kind of farming was practiced, the grain being planted one year, and the field allowed to lie fallow for another. The root crops were unknown, and so were garden vegetables. Of her twenty-six cities, London and Norwich were the chief, the former having no more than 100,000, and the latter about 5,000 people. Her only industry for centuries had been wool-raising, which had been sent to the Netherlands to be woven. Her hemp, flax, and hides were exported for manufacture by the Dutch. The people were ignorant and poor. Learning was confined to the church and the court, both of which were ordered by a king who had cast out the Pope, and made himself Defender of the Faith. Whereas in Holland the confiscated abbey lands, monasteries, and church funds were applied to common schools, universities, and hospitals, in England they were distributed among the king's favorites, the nobles and the State church. The people were oppressed by land laws made in the interest of the nobles; for feudalism in England, spite of Magna Charta and so-called Parlia-

ments, was deeply rooted in English soil, and the manor system made the farmer a sort of serf. The old common lands were rapidly going the way they have since about all gone—into the hands of the nobles. The food of the common people was chiefly pork and grain, for table vegetables were unknown, and leprosy and scurvy were common. Their clothes were of coarse homespun woolen, or linsey-woolsey, for the finer sorts of woolen cloths came entirely from the Netherlands, and even the first rough woolen cloth was not woven in England until Netherlands weavers were imported, in 1331. Such luxuries as brick houses, underclothing, or table linen were known only to the rich, though common enough across the Channel. Indeed, the ordinary English name for table and body linen was “Holland”; while the very names Lisle thread, Diaper, Duffels, Bombazine, and a score more of textiles, being names of places across the Channel, show their origin.

In England the Bible was not popularly known or read. Wyclif had, indeed, translated the Scriptures out of the Vulgate Latin into English; but, being in manuscript, were never printed until hundreds of years afterwards, and then only as a literary curiosity for scholars. Wyclif’s translation from the Vulgate was practically unknown to the people in their homes, for poor men could not afford to buy a manuscript book at the cost of a year’s wages. Indeed, in the strict modern sense of the word, which suggests printing and diffusion, Wyclif’s Bible was not even published. Further, even in manuscript it was prohibited by law, in 1408. Indeed, Wyclif himself did not become a pronounced opponent of the Pope until he had visited the Netherlands, under direction of John of Gaunt who re-introduced still large numbers of Dutch weavers into Eastern England, where for centuries the word “weaver” and “heretic” were synonymous. Even the Lollards, who took their name from a society in Antwerp, were largely found in those eastern counties in which the Flemish and Dutch farmers, dike-builders, brick-makers, reclaimers of land, and weavers were most numerous: so that even in the first flush of the coming Protestantism in Wyclif’s time, we find the Netherlands’ influence discernible. When, however, the king, and nobles, and state churchmen had cast on it the odium of Wat Tyler’s rebellion, and crushed out the Lollards by persecution, Wyclif’s Bible became a curiosity, and the promised reform

movement a memory. When finally the Protestant Reformation, which is ours, and the printed Bible—the English Bible that we know—came into England, it was through Erasmus the Dutchman, Luther the German, and Calvin the Frenchman; while the Bible that got into the hands of the people was not from the Latin or based on Wyclif, but made direct from the Hebrew and Greek by Tyndale, who was tracked by the English bloodhounds and garroted. The editions of Tyndale's New Testament smuggled into England, were printed by Dutchmen on Dutch soil. When, finally, a printing press was set up and the Bible printed in England, research shows that the foreman, compositors, and pressmen, just as in the case of Caxton's, a generation or two before, were Dutchmen. It must not be forgotten, either, that the grand outburst of the English intellect in the Elizabethan era was the fruit of culture on pagan lines, even as the government of this time was essentially despotic. It was part of the Renaissance, not of the Reformation which was built on the open Bible. For wherever the Protestant Reformation was a movement of the people, there was no episcopacy, but the Reformed church, or Presbyterian government. Wherever the Reformation was the work of kings or princes, the form chosen was episcopacy, or Lutheranism. In science, too, England was far behind the rest of Christendom; for even Bacon, with all his overrated learning, was the victim of many superstitions, including witchcraft, and the idea that the sun went round the world. Even down to 1752 England was in her calendar, like Russia to-day, eleven days behind the rest of the civilized world.

In political and religious freedom the status of the English was far before that of the people of the Netherlands. Magna Charta, in which after ages have seen so much, was an episode of feudalism. Its obtaining was not the work of the common people, but it was demanded by a confederacy of barons, or tenants-in-chief of the crown. In the event of Runnymede, June 15, 1215, a company of feudal proprietors redressed their grievances of feudal tenure against the royal prerogative. Indirectly, indeed, Magna Charta made for the good of the people, and set the supremacy of the law of England over against the will of the monarch; hence it was in after ages grandly used as a precedent of liberty. With the Magna Charta, whose chief glory was won

in after centuries, grew up the English Parliament, which had, however, in the days of Henry VIII., become as to power a memory,—a matter of archæology, rather than living force. The Parliament that to-day rules England was born later, in the struggles of the Puritans with the Stuart kings, Charles and James.

It was for their Bible printing and reading, their sturdy Protestantism, and their doctrine, that power comes from the people, and their insistence upon “no taxation without consent of the taxpayer,” that Philip II. of Spain began, in 1561, the Inquisition. It was for these that, in 1567, he sent the bloody Duke of Alva with the finest infantry in Europe, and the first army equipped with muskets, to begin those persecutions that made the martyr roll of the Netherlands crimson with one hundred thousand names. For years the iron heel of Spain seemed planted on the neck of the little country. Then, by the tens of thousands, the Netherlands fled to lands adjacent. This tremendous exodus did not stop until the seven northern provinces, led by brave little Holland, formed the first United States in a federal republic; and drawing sword against the Pope and the Spaniard, threw away the scabbard, and gave the world the first great example of successful revolt against tyranny. It is successful precedents that rule the world.

Where did these Bible-reading Protestants, skilled mechanics, farmers, engineers, inventors, polished gentlemen, and learned men settle? Many in Germany; many lived at Embden, where flocked the English refugees driven out by Bloody Mary, and where election by the written ballot was the rule; but most of them in England. In open boats, braving the dangers of the stormy North Sea and English Channel, they fled to hospitable England that had then no mechanical industries worth speaking of, and that wanted them. They swarmed into the southern, but more numerous in those eastern counties already mightily leavened by previous emigrations of Dutch and Flemish weavers, brick-makers, dike-builders, and reclaimers of the fens. In a word, they planted themselves in those very counties which later became the hotbed of nonconformity, the hearth of the new faith, the ash heap of the Protestant martyr fires, the cradle of Congregationalism, the recruiting ground of Cromwell's Ironsides and army, and the home of probably three fifths of the settlers of New England.

It is true that of this great immigration, numbering perhaps one hundred thousand, besides Flemish and Dutch, there were thousands of Walloons and Huguenots. There were many, also, who came mainly for trade and gain, but the vast majority were refugees for conscience' sake, as truly as were later the Pilgrims to Holland. This, also, is certain, that among them were thousands of Anabaptists, whose polity of church government was purely Congregational. Coming from Embden and Friesland, of which we know the features of local government so well from Ubbo Emmius, and where, especially in the choosing of church officers, the method was by the written ballot, these despised and persecuted people brought with them some of the practices and principles we now value as though they were entirely of New England and American origin.

In detail, it may be said, these Protestant refugees settled in London, Canterbury, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, Dover, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Romney, Hythes, Sheffield, Yarmouth, Hatfield, and a score of smaller towns. More numerous than anywhere else, they established themselves in Suffolk and Norfolk and the counties adjacent. The region around Old Boston, in Lincolnshire, "the capital of the fens," which were drained by the Dutch, is still called "Holland." Burns, in his "History of the Protestant Refugees in England," mentions fourteen towns—all of them reproduced in New England—where the Dutchmen were numerous. They drained the fens, built dikes, reclaimed land and settled on it, taught and practiced hydraulic engineering, scientific farming, introduced garden vegetables, and taught the curing of herring. We find them introducing window glass in the dwelling houses, and stained glass windows in the chapels and cathedrals; the making of iron and steel at Sheffield; the manufacture of felt and beaver hats; and the invention or improvement of pottery and porcelain from native English clay. But more than all else, the weavers brought or made their looms, and thus introduced the arts of dyeing, coloring, and various textile industries. They made lace from Antwerp thread at Honiton, and established factories in other lace towns in various shires. They invented new styles and sorts of textures, and at once a new vocabulary of dress-stuffs appeared in English speech, out of which, from names curiously changed, or mispronounced, we can almost construct a map of the countries adjoining England.

To give some idea of this influx of skilled labor into England,—remembering that the figures possible to attain by enumerating only the town populations are necessarily far below the scattered total, and that the smaller groups are left out,—we note that there were (not of the old immigration of two centuries before, but fresh Protestant refugees) in 1553, 15,000, and in 1562, 30,000 Netherlanders in England. In 1568, of 6,704 foreigners in London (which then had a population of less than 100,000), 5,225 were from the Netherlands. In Canterbury two thirds of the population were from the same country. In Norwich, in 1571, there were 3,925 Dutch and Walloons, and in 1587 there were 4,679. “Before the end of Alva’s rule,” says Davies, “there had quitted the Netherlands 100,000 heads of families.” Of this number, with their households, between 80,000 and 100,000 persons came into England. The direct influence of these refugees on the English people was seen in this—that each foreign workman was compelled by law to take and train one English apprentice. This law sent, probably, fifty thousand English boys and young men to school, not only in industry, but in republican ideas and liberal notions.

These refugees, as English historians acknowledge, achieved the industrial revolution of England. They laid the foundation of that commercial and manufacturing supremacy of Great Britain which is to-day the envy and wonder of the world, and which has changed the character of the islanders from that of shepherds and agriculturists to that of machinists and manufacturers, and which has made England the richest country in Europe. The fens of Eastern England became a garden. The introduction of table vegetables and the cultivation of winter roots, enabled an acre of land to support double the number of human beings living off it. One direct result of this, as Prof. Thorold Rogers proves, was that the population of England was quickly doubled. The Dutch discovered the uses of clover, and introduced the so-called “artificial grasses,” making the life of the English farm laborer richer, amazingly improving the breeds of sheep and cattle, and increasing mightily the comfort of human life. The plough in its modern form is a Dutch invention; so are the uses of turnips, potatoes, and the root crops by which, instead of the old custom of letting land lie fallow a whole year, the same meadow can be twice cropped in one year. By copying the horticultural, agri-

cultural, and stock-raising methods of the land which boasts a cow to every human inhabitant, the population of England was not only doubled, but scurvy and leprosy were banished.

Why is it that most of the names of things in and on a ship, in the kitchen and dining room, of garden vegetables, of clothing, of commerce and organized industry, are in so many cases Dutch, and were more numerous so in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Simply because they were direct importations from Holland. Besides these comforts of life, there was no fine art of painting in England or Scotland until Holbein and Van Dyck brought it there. The Dutch invented oil painting, and "the first smile of the republic was art." So far as we have oil paintings of New England worthies, they are from Dutch easels. In science and invention, what would be left of "Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences" after all references to the Netherlands are taken out? London is now the financial center of the world, having snatched the scepter from Amsterdam; but originally the Bank of England was founded by men whose names seem taken from a Dutch directory.

In theology, queen of sciences, what does not England owe Holland from Thomas à Kempis, author of the "Imitation of Christ," to Kuenen, one of the ablest intellects of Europe? Erasmus, the great humanist, the literary king of Christendom, was at Oxford as early as 1498, and at the zenith of his fame spent five years mostly at Cambridge. It was he who introduced the study of Greek in England, and first taught the peerless language in an English university. How mighty his influence was, is seen even to-day, for his scepter touches us yet. In America, and Great Britain, and all the English colonies, with very slight changes, Greek is pronounced as if it were common Dutch. It was the Dutch Erasmus that gave to the world that edition of the Greek New Testament which all the reformers of every country studied; which more than any other one thing—humanly speaking—produced the Protestant Reformation. For over three hundred years this Dutchman's edition of the Greek Testament has been the received text of the original of our English New Testament, as well as of Luther's German. It was this Dutchman who translated it into pure and elegant Latin which first departed widely from the Vulgate, and thus became the chief corner stone of the

Reformation. After all criticisms are made on Erasmus, it is hard to see how there could have been any Protestant Reformation without the work he did. Erasmus was one of the direct fruits of the great school system of the Brethren of the Common Life in Holland.

Systematic theology as the Pilgrims and early Puritans knew it, apart from Calvin, was made in Holland, and perfected at that only ecumenical Protestant council, held at Dordrecht, in 1619, which Robinson attended, and at which Dr. Ames, so persecuted by the English hierarchy and denounced by King James, was received, honored, and employed by the Dutch, in spite of King James and all his bishops. One of the strong ties binding the Dutch and the Pilgrims together in congenial friendship, was their common adherence to the identical system of theology.

Still further, we must look to Holland for the origin and growth of that Biblical theology which is now everywhere supplanting systematic. Coccejus, the Leyden professor, is its acknowledged father. He founded his theology on the Bible alone, without consulting Augustine, Calvin, or any but inspired men. Many of the framers of the Westminster Confession and Catechism, and of the leading Congregational ministers of England, received their education at Leyden or Utrecht during the seventeenth century, then the finest universities in Europe, one of them educating two thousand English students.

Why are Cambridge and Oxford so different—the one so progressive, the other so reactionary? Is it any wonder that Cambridge, which is right in the heart of these eastern counties of England, which in the fourteenth century were thickly planted with the Dutch weaver-heretics, and in the sixteenth century were overrun by the republican and Bible-reading Protestants of the Netherlands, which was almost reborn under Erasmus and John A'Lasco, his pupil, which was served by the great Dutch professor of history, Dorislaus should have begun to be, and should still continue to be, the center of liberal ideas? Oxford, in the midland counties, has always been royal, conservative, and reactionary; while Cambridge has been parliamentary, liberal, and progressive. Among her sons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Tyndale, and the leading Nonconformists and Independents besides the Congregationalists, Robert Browne

and John Robinson. Oxford educated champions of episcopacy, and the ecclesiastics of the Established Church. Cambridge, right in the heart of the Netherlands influence, trained the Pilgrims, Puritans, and Liberals. Of seventeen most prominent New England clergymen in the New England colonies, fourteen were trained at Cambridge, and of eighty known names the majority received education at the same place.

The mention of the names of Browne and Robinson stirs the heart of every Congregationalist. The question is at once asked, to the answer of which noble scholars have devoted years of research, Where lay the fountain of the sacred fire? Did it first burn in their own hearts out of the Word, or were there other Bible students who before Browne had churches Congregational in polity, and free from the State?

It has been said, by those who think that the mere suggestion that we, either as New Englanders or Congregationalists, owe anything to the Dutch, is "a fancy in the face of history," "a pleasing fiction," something to be scoffed at, that it is all the more suspicious, that it has taken two hundred and seventy years to find out such obligation. Possibly so; but then, as matter of fact, it took two hundred and thirty-nine years to find even the place whence the Pilgrims came. From Scrooby, and Bawtry, and Austerfield, even the very fact of the Pilgrims' emigration, or of their ever having lived there, had faded out. No tradition survived, or was locally known, until reverent American research on the spot informed the people, and reproduced the past. Even in England, within fifty years, when a picture of the departure of the Pilgrims in the *Speedwell* from Delfshaven was hung up in the corridor of the House of Lords, it was labeled, "Departure of a Puritan Family for New England," even though the painter declared he had taken his ideas from Governor Bradford's own writings. Only after repeated protest to Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope, were the words "Pilgrim Fathers" substituted for "Puritan Family." Even now in the painting on the wall of the Lords' corridor on the ship sailing from Delfshaven, is the word "*Mayflower*," instead of "*Speedwell*." It is only within very recent years that the popular confusion, even in American minds, of the term Puritan and Pilgrim has been partly clarified; and it is yet on Forefathers'

Day a frequent phenomenon when orators, supposed to be scholars, seem hopelessly mixed, and become amusingly hazy, on the subject. Some things which we know about the Bible, about history, about truth, do not get discovered until after thousands of years. Do not critics of Congregationalism say it is a modern invention? We who read the New Testament know better; but then, it is a fact that Congregationalism was practically rediscovered when the Greek language rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hands. Who first rediscovered it, the Dutch Anabaptists or the Protestant English?

Only recently have English historians begun, in writing the history of England, to look beyond the sea, and to link insular to continental history. The history of the United States has not yet been written except by New England historians, who have a tendency to forget, or do not like to know, what New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia have done. Even yet, in the eyes of English historians, republics are not quite respectable. English historians draw roots, precedents, comparisons, from monarchies,—Germany, France, Italy, Spain; but republican Switzerland and Holland they scarcely notice. So our historians copy English models, and think that in our political development we are English, and the fruits of English life alone, instead of the movement of continental Europe. They say we are an English nation, and they attempt to derive our institutions from England, notwithstanding that our institutions which are most truly American were never in England. The story of Holland's direct influence on the English-speaking world is an omitted chapter.

Where is the historian of England, or of the United States, or of New England, or of Congregationalism, who shows critical acquaintance with the details of Dutch history? Do not most New England writers take what Washington Irving himself confessed was his own coarse caricature of the early history of New York as actual fact, and rely upon Diedrich Knickerbocker for "local color"? What American college has in its library a set of the works of Dutch historians? Rarely is an American professor of history at home in the language and literature of the one republic which was the training school of our nation's founders and the "great example" of our revolutionary and constitutional fathers.

The story of the Dutch influence upon the English Commonwealth cannot be traced in those Acts of Parliament, archives chronicles, and state papers which make the usual staple of the historian. This powerful influence was not phenomenal ; it came without observation, with no noise of trumpets, but rather like the dew, or sunshine, or other things less noticed than a meteor or a thunderstorm. It may be likened in lesser degree to that Christianity of whose history in the second century we know so little, which yet transformed the Roman Empire. A knowledge of the facts in the sixteenth century once obtained, is like an electric search light all along the track of English and American history.

Brethren, it may be that we Congregationlists owe something even more directly to the Dutch ; that we inheritors of the New Testament polity are debtors to the Barbarians as well as to the Greeks, to the Dutch as well as to Browne and Robinson.

To my mind it is more than probable that our American Congregationalism was borrowed, in germ, at least, from these Dutch refugees in England. We do not assert, or positively claim, that Robert Browne got his ideas of Congregationalism from these Dutchmen, but this is what the facts show : viz., that all through Suffolk and Norfolk, and especially right in Norwich, where Browne lived and taught, were Dutch Anabaptists, whose government was Congregational in form. Each congregation of the Dutch Anabaptists and Mennonites was a distinct church, a republic by itself, holding, besides many things we do not hold, substantially to the same order as that of the Baptists and Congregationlists of to-day. They had so held these principles before Browne was born. Living in England, where the Established church was all-powerful, they paid their taxes, furnished substitutes for military service, but kept intact their ideas of religious freedom.

Right where the fire was already kindled in England, there was our flame lighted and thence the torch borne. Remember, that in Bloody Mary's reign, from 1563 to 1567, of two hundred and eighty martyrs, the burnings were in general most numerous in the towns overrun by the continental refugees ; such as Maidstone, which furnished seven, and Canterbury forty, and Lewes seventeen, while seventy, or one fourth of the whole number burnt,

came from the woolen and weaving districts of the eastern counties. Beyond the parts overrun by the Dutchmen, this New Testament "heresy," or martyrdom because of it, was rare. When, later, Robert Browne lived and preached in Norwich, the Dutch and Walloons then numbered one half of the population, and the Anabaptists were having their ears cropped, their noses sliced, or were burnt alive in the castle ditch right under Browne's windows, while he daily lived right among them. So, also, John Robinson, who held a charge in or very near Norwich, had hundreds of these Congregational Anabaptists all around him. Certain it is that in the eastern counties of England, and right out of the midst of the Netherlands influence, English Congregationalism arose, and here English Congregationalists multiplied.

Another point to be noticed about the rise of Congregationalism, as well as of nonconformity generally, is, that the vast majority of these New Testament heretics were poor men of the humbler classes. Not only do the historians Strype, Hollingshead, Hopkins, and others tell us this, but the bishops, their critics and enemies, expatiate on the fact that these heretics are cobblers, weavers, feltmakers, dyers, and other mechanics and wage earners, or, as they said, "such trash,"—in other words, the very men most closely associated with the Dutch Anabaptist mechanics and workingmen who overran the eastern counties. In those days there was no need of the discussion about "the church and the workingman." The workingmen made the church.

Let us look further, and note that a noticeable strain of English blood flows from this immigration. Thousands of these Dutchmen and other refugees, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, changed the pronunciation and spelling of their names, translated them into English, or otherwise Anglicized them beyond all recognition, and were merged into the great ethnic composite of the English people. Thousands of their children, also, married and remained in England. The prevalence of certain family names in these eastern counties is to-day, even were there no other testimony, strong evidence of a powerful Netherlands infusion. It has been remarked by the great authority in genealogy, Mr. Savage, that over eighty per cent of the original settlers of New England could trace their descent to the eastern counties of England. He might have added, that

going farther back in time they could trace them, in a considerable number of cases, to Dutch immigrant ancestors.

When one of several of the companies of English Brownists, or Congregationalists, at Gainsborough and Scrooby, called to face persecution, imprisonment, and death, sought refuge and asylum, where did they look? Where save to Holland, in which they heard there was "freedom of religion for all men"? How had they heard it? From the thousands of Hollanders in England, because the news of the Dutch declaration of independence of Spain and the story of Leyden, of the toleration afforded even to Jews at Amsterdam, was already a generation old; perhaps from English wits and politicians who sneered at the very idea of toleration; from Bradford himself, who had been in the Netherlands when a youth. So they fled to "the States,"—that is, the United States of the Netherlands. At Amsterdam, "Brownists Alley" is still so named, and there stands yet their humble meeting house. The Scrooby company, led by Robinson, after a year in Amsterdam left their quarrelsome brethren, and found welcome, honor, peace, and comparative comfort in eleven years' residence at Leyden. There they lived during the truce with Spain, and before the war again broke out the best part of them were on their way to America.

What did these Pilgrims learn in the Dutch Republic? How were they treated? How were they trained during those pregnant years from Scrooby to Cape Cod, when, as precious oil in the hands of the Almighty, they were poured from vessel to vessel, until beaten, refined, pure, their light was kindled to shine on forever?

We do not know all that we should like to know, but this is certain: The leaders and most forceful men among the Pilgrim company, as the municipal records in the townhall of Leyden still show, became citizens, paid their taxes, and took advantage of the common schools and the municipal privileges. They thus received practical, political education in a republic. Many, probably nearly all the original Scrooby company, learned to speak and read Dutch fluently. Some of them married Dutch wives, and thus a noticeable strain of Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood. Exercised and sensitive on all questions relating to soul and body, God and man, searching heaven and earth, sacred and

classic history, for precedents relating to the ruler and ruled in government, they learned much. Holland was then the foremost school of political science, so far as government was exhibited in a republic. In this country, and at this time, and right before the Pilgrims' eyes, men were trying the experiment of self-government, and to make a nation out of states as varied in elements as Massachusetts and South Carolina. The forces of Calhounism under Barneveldt, and of Lincolnism, or union and central government, under Maurice, were contending in death grapple. They saw the people and the Calvinists were always with the House of Orange, who stood for the union; while Barneveldt and the Arminians stood for state rights and secession. At the same time the Dutch were fighting their Gettysburg in home politics, they were arming for another twenty-eight years' fight for life against the Spaniard. Grotius was writing his epoch-making book on international law, which, more than any other uninspired writing, taught national righteousness and the duties of countries one to another; while from the presses of Leyden and other Dutch cities were issuing books that described and analyzed, gave the history and philosophy, both local and national methods of government, in the one republic of Northern Europe, in which at that time were living most of the political and military leaders of the men who settled Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. The time when Englishmen were numerous abroad, and in a republic, too, was the time of Holland's richest fruitage of political science. Even in the matter of loneliness, the Pilgrims in Leyden were lonely only as they chose to be lonely. There were in the same city an English church a few yards from their meeting house, and one hundred and thirty-five English families resident. Englishmen—soldiers, travelers, merchants, ecclesiastics—were all around them. Probably an average of ten thousand British subjects dwelt in the Netherlands during their stay. They lived under the shadow of the greatest university of Europe, that matriculated over two thousand English students in the seventeenth century, of which their own Robinson and Brewer were members.

What they learned we do not know fully; but these high-souled men, wide-awake to all good influences, lived in a good school. Surely it was a kind Providence that kept these

founders of New England eleven years in a federal republic. Let us see what things, what institutions like those in this republic of ours, they had daily before their eyes.

1. They lived under a national religious establishment, which, though a State Protestant Church, something like that of England, yet, unlike England's, tolerated other faiths, even Roman Catholic and Jewish when exercised in private houses privately; and to all Protestant sects and congregations, especially the English, furnished places of worship when regular, formal application was properly made therefor. They enjoyed, also, what Milton later plead for,—the liberty of unlicensed printing. They enjoyed the benefit of the free schools for their children. While the English political church emissaries were all the time prodding the Dutch government to molest them, the Dutch government, often defying King James, quietly sheltered the Pilgrims.

2. They lived in a land where they could buy, hold, and sell land in fee simple, which they could not do in England, with its entail and primogeniture, manor system and semi-feudalism; and they lived in a land where deeds and mortgages were registered.

3. They lived under a system of local self-government which had its town meetings, with its written ballot and its municipal representation in the state or provincial legislature. In every court was the public prosecuting officer, named the "*schout*," or what we call the "district attorney,"—the accused having the right of counsel for defense, and money indemnity paid to the acquitted person wrongly accused. Both the jurisprudence and the prison system of Holland, as they saw, were vastly in advance of what they had actually experienced in England.

4. They lived under a republic of united states which, with all its defects, had a written constitution, the Union of Utrecht, or of the Seven United States of Holland, framed in 1579, and for two hundred and fifteen years appealed to as the supreme law of the land by the Supreme Court of Holland. In that republic, whose motto was, "In union there is strength," and whose flag was the red, white, and blue, the stadtholder, or president, ruled, his powers defined by the written compact, so that he could neither expand into a dictator nor dwindle into a figurehead. We grant it was not, nationally, a constitutional democracy like ours,

but a confederation of sovereignties : but, in its municipal life all Holland was intensely republican ; and it was the city life that most affected the English dwelling in the country. The national legislature, Congress, or States General, like ours,—for ours is copied directly from it,—consisted of two houses ; one the Senate, representing sovereign states, and having the treaty-making power, and the other a popular assembly representing the people. The freedom of the press was guaranteed, and limited only as ours is limited. The Pilgrim printers published freely, but the line was, in 1619, drawn at scurrilous and slanderous books, and until they were suspected of printing those they were absolutely unmolested. Complete independence of the judiciary was the rule. In a word, that which we count most peculiarly American, existed in the heroic days of the Dutch Republic, before the eyes of the founders of Massachusetts. A detailed examination shows that our American political institutions, when compared with those of the other nations of Europe,—classic, mediæval, or modern,—are more like those of the republic of the Netherlands than like any other. We do not deny that this federal republic of the Netherlands, compared to ours, was a crude and weak affair ; that even its privileges and liberties, when set by the side of those with us, which have been won after three hundred years experience in the New World, seem small ; but for that time they were wonderful. For, far ahead of the nations in toleration and freedom, the Dutch were ridiculed by other nations as being eccentric, as introducing dangerous innovations in government ; yet, in spite of contempt and ridicule, these men of the United States of Holland persevered, and thus gave the precedent of success for all time, and the cue to the English Commonwealth and the Revolution of 1688, and to the American Revolution. Successful precedents govern the world.

How were the Pilgrims treated by the Dutch individually, and by the Government ? We answer, “The hospitality of the free republic of Holland was generously bestowed.” We shall now give proofs and answer criticisms.

1. The Pilgrims did not get free food, clothing, rent, or use of a church edifice when it was not asked for. They were not treated, they did not wish to be treated, as paupers, but as men, and their leader as a scholar. What was most precious to them

they received. Theirs was in full what England denied them,—life, liberty, freedom to worship God in their own way, and the pursuit of happiness. The measure of freedom, toleration, and protection granted them was equal to that which the Dutch Government bestowed upon their own people.

But some have said, “Not so: this idea of Dutch hospitality is a pleasing fiction,” “a fancy that is in the face of history,” and we have no money to waste on a monument at Delfshaven or anywhere else to perpetuate such a fancy. Special criticisms have been made upon the project of this Boston Congregational Club to erect a memorial in honor alike of the Pilgrims and their Dutch hosts at Delfshaven, where the dikes were cut to relieve Leyden, and whence the founders of New England sailed to America.

Most of the criticisms made refer to the acts of *individual* Hollanders; and the original writings of Bradford, Winslow, and other Pilgrims have been put, by the critics, under the microscope to find one single passage that could be made to seem like complaint of the Dutch, and harsh treatment by them. The search has been made in vain. The Pilgrim writers dwell much on their own straitened *condition*, on their reasons for leaving Holland, but have only gratitude and kind words for the hospitable people and goodly land that sheltered them. Let us consider these criticisms in detail.

1. After an English sea captain had already deceived and betrayed the Scrooby men, they engaged at Hull a Dutch skipper to meet them on the Lancashire coast and carry them to Amsterdam. True to his word he appeared punctually, despite the risk he ran; for both the Pilgrims and the Dutchmen were breaking the law of the land in attempting unlicensed emigration; *i. e.*, to get out of England by the way of the underground railroad to the Canada of that day. After part of the men had got on board, the armed police of King James appeared in the distance. What should the Dutchman do? In any event he must lose his profits. Should he lose his ship, too, be cast into prison with all his crew, and, further, surrender up those Pilgrims who were already on board to prison, and possible death? Even the men of the Pilgrim company left on shore, with the exception of a few who stayed with the women, ran away to save themselves. Of the conduct of the Dutch captain, in such a case, judge you.

2. It is said that Robinson's company in Leyden "was not allowed to have a meeting house."

Answer. The profound researches of Dutch scholars, archivists, and historians, backed by the labors of American specialists and men of research, have failed to find any trace of a desire on the part of the Pilgrims to have a meeting house at the gift of the government. They made no application for a place to worship in. We know that other Protestant congregations, asking, received. Consistent with their intensely Separatist and Independent principles, they preferred to be by themselves, pay their own rent, and ask no favors. All who believed in Christ could have a church, or house of worship, if regularly applied for; but the Pilgrims would not recognize a State church. "They stood on their own legs." They were true to their own principles. Heartily in sympathy with the Dutch Calvinists in theology, they differed with them on the question of church polity, and declined all ecclesiastical favors. They even criticised freely certain Dutch customs, such as the election of church officers in rotation, instead of for life, which their descendants have since almost universally followed. The Dutch churches elected elders and deacons for a term of years, not for life; the American Congregationalists now do the same. In making answer to this objection, as in others, the defense of the Dutch is the defense of the Pilgrims, also, for the Pilgrims were nobly consistent.

3. It is said that while Rev. Robert Durie, pastor of the English church in Leyden, had to wait only a year before being admitted to the privileges of membership in the University, John Robinson had to wait five years and a-half for the like privilege,—that is, free tuition, free use of the library, large personal and municipal privileges, and almost unlimited free beer and wine, in an age when the hot drinks of modern life, tea, coffee, and chocolate, were unknown.

Answer. No one except the omniscient God now knows whether Robinson was obliged to wait, or voluntarily waited. When, however, it is remembered that Robinson had come from the quarrelsome Brownists of Amsterdam, and lived two years in Leyden before having a permanent house or becoming a property owner, there may have been good reason why the Leyden University kept Robinson waiting—even supposing they did, of

which there is no proof. Both Robinson and Brewer were admitted to the Leyden University, and reaped great benefits from their privileges. The number of members or fellows of the University was necessarily limited, for with membership went other valuable accessories which illustrate old-time Dutch hospitalities, but which could not be indiscriminately lavished on strangers. As in most continental universities, members were excused from the liability of ordinary citizens to have soldiers billeted upon them in case of siege or other need, to take their turn at the night watch, and to contribute to public works or fortifications; while in case of arrest or accusation, they were free from the jurisdiction of the town authorities. All these were matters of great advantage, as we shall see presently. Further, the hospitality of the Dutch was generously bestowed in that they were made the recipients, free of town and state duties, of two tuns of beer every month and ten gallons of wine every quarter; that is, twenty-four hogsheads of beer and forty gallons of wine every year. As tea was not known in England until 1610, and coffee until 1652, and the word "temperance," as limited to the matter of drinking, was unknown in any European language, the use of beer or wine was considered a necessity at the table by both Englishmen and Hollanders. Think of twenty-four hogsheads of beer and forty gallons of wine to each one of the Pilgrim University Fellows! And yet we are told that Dutch hospitality to the Pilgrims is "a pleasing fiction," "a fancy in the face of history."

4. It is charged that "during all the residence of the Pilgrims in Holland, the conduct of the Dutch Government towards them was modified by its craven fear of offending his High Mightiness King James the First of England"; and that it was "in some measure in consequence of this sharp eye kept on them from England, and the sensitiveness of the Dutch to it, that our fathers suffered as severely as they did in Holland," etc.

This we deny. Charge these Dutchmen of this heroic age with other faults, but not cowardice. They had no "craven fear" of either the Pope, the Devil, Philip II., or James I. The exact contemporaneous words of Bradford, quoted by the critic, do indeed refer to the caution which the Dutch took to avoid offending their Protestant ally; for Holland, the little Protestant republic, was, like another David, fighting almost alone the battle

of liberty against giant Spain. Indeed, the Netherlands republic was, as Principal Fairbairn so eloquently acknowledged at Leyden, fighting England's battle; yes, and she was fighting our battles, too. She stood for Protestantism, freedom, toleration, humanity. She sorely needed England's help and sympathy, just as in our days of war, when the Alabama was about to be let loose from British port, we needed both in our struggle with secession and slavery. We, too, were careful not to give offense to England during our Civil War. We wanted her help. We feared not with the coward's, but with the fear of a brave man who knows his cause is just. We hesitated to displease Great Britain, but we had not for a moment, any craven fear of her: and when Charles Francis Adams said to the Queen's representative, "It is needless to remind your lordship that this means war," he had fear, but neither he nor we had any "craven" fear.

So the Dutch republic of which Benjamin Franklin declared, "in love of liberty, and bravery in the defense of it she has been our great example," had no craven fear of King James. Both republics of united States, Dutch and American, had just exactly that kind of fear which the Greeks, using the word only of gods and heroes, call *eulabeia*. Barneveldt gave this royal coward, pedant, and persecutor to understand that he had better mind his own business, and let Dutch affairs alone. The representative of the United States of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century did exactly what the envoy of the United States of America did in 1862. For the life of the republic they shrank not, even during their struggle for life, from the menace of war.

5. In the alleged cases of the Danish professor, Vorstius, and of Dr. William Ames, of Norfolk, whom Young, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, mistakenly imagines were deposed and persecuted by the Dutch at the instigation of King James and his minions, the facts are the reverse of those stated and repeatedly copied. In the case of Conrad Vorstius, an Arminian in office at Leyden University, it was the Dutch theologians of the State church who deposed him from his professorship on account of heresy, and the Synod of Dort that banished him. In any event, having made King James umpire in the dispute, the Dutch controvertists were bound to abide by the umpire's decision. The persecution of Dr. Ames, the military chaplain and Puritan refugee,

was wholly an affair of the English church, and the Dutch had, so far as known, nothing to do with it. Living in Leyden, Sir Horace Vere made him chaplain, but the English Episcopalians forced Vere to dismiss him. Without asking King James' permission the Dutch at once made him a professor at Franeker, and later gave him a pension, and chose him clerk of the Synod of Dort. He died of a cold contracted after a flood in Rotterdam, profoundly lamented by the Dutch, who had defied King James in lavishing honors upon him.

Again, and again, and again the Dutch went contrary to King James' will, and metaphorically snapped their republican fingers under his monarchical and heresy-smelling nose. So far from any craven fear, these Dutch would have fought the Englishman as well as the Spaniard and the Pope, and sunk their land under the waves, rather than truckle to this royal enemy of the Pilgrims.

6. It is stated that "when the Pilgrims had made up their minds to emigrate to the New World, and the Dutch made them 'large offers' to settle in the New Netherlands in America, their experience had been such that they do not seem ever seriously to have entertained that proposition, but 'decided not to meddle with ye Dutch.'"

This is untrue. The facts are, that John Robinson himself, Feb. 12, 1620, first made the proposition to the Dutch merchants of Amsterdam to go and settle in the New Netherlands. His purpose was much larger in scope than the later enterprise in the Mayflower. He asked for Dutch help, promising to cross the ocean with four hundred families from Leyden and England. Naturally, however, this self-effacing pastor and far-seeing statesman, as well as accomplished theologian, wanted, while on the new continent, military protection guaranteed against the papist Spaniards.

In other words, the experience by the Pilgrims of the Dutch, and of the hospitality generously bestowed upon them, was such that they wanted to go under the order and protection of the red, white, and blue flag of the United States of the Netherlands. These are facts attested by the Dutch documents at Albany, New York, and in Brodhead's and Winsor's Histories, as well as in Bradford's own testimony of "large offers." Unfortunately for the credit of early New England historians, these facts are

not found on their pages. And this is the reason why some students of American history who go to the original authorities, do not accept as the final verdict of history the defective and distorted statements of those who somehow forget, or ignore, what other countries beside England have done in the making of our nation.

Why did not the Pilgrims accept the liberal offer of the Amsterdam Company of free cattle and transportation to the region of the North River? For one reason, and, so far as records show, for this reason alone. It was the year 1620. During the twelve years the Pilgrims had, with the Dutch, enjoyed profound peace. Now, truce with Spain was to end next year, 1621, and the little republic must summon all her resources against the mightiest military power in Europe. As Bradford says, there was nothing heard on all sides but the beating of drums and preparations for war. Hence, the States-General were unable to guarantee military protection, especially in the shape of two ships of war and a garrison of soldiers, to a colony of Englishmen across the Atlantic. They could not even protect their own people, the colony of Dutchmen and Walloons proposed by Jesse de Forest; though later, in 1623, with his company of fifty-six Walloon families, he was able to lay the foundations of the Empire State. The Pilgrims, glad as they would have been to close with the generous response of the Amsterdam merchants to Robinson's application, must have foreseen what answer the States-General would give; and so they had to turn from fair offers, and accept the rigorous terms of the English Merchant Adventurer's Company, which kept them in debt and at hardest toil for several years.

7. It has been charged that Elder Brewster endured persecution for "having printed some Nonconformist books which were unacceptable to the English hierarchy;" that "the Dutch government cowered beneath his intimation" [of Sir Dudley Carleton, the British minister at The Hague], "and set their machinery of law at work to arrest the elder for doing what he had in Holland a perfect right to do. In fear of Dutch prisons he fled, with all his, and seems to have laid low in England, until he could join the exiles on the Mayflower, at Southampton, on their way home."

Answer. These statements are not according to fact, or are distorted. Nearly the whole story may be traced in Sir Dudley Carleton's "Letters." Just as our republic gratefully made it possible, during a generation or two, for "a citizen of the United States [even though a foreigner] at the time of the adoption of this Constitution," to become President of the United States, so the Dutch honored the ambassador of their Protestant ally with a place in their councils. To his opinions and advice they gave as much deference as the Continental Congress gave to the suggestions of Steuben or Lafayette; but they never for a moment, as even Sir Dudley Carleton's letters show, "cowered beneath his intimation," or that of his master, King James. At his request, in December, 1619, the States-General issued a "placart" against indecent, scurrilous, scandalous publications, ten months after Brewster had left Holland for England. Further, Elder Brewster endured no persecution whatever from the Dutch. He printed as many Brownist or Congregationalist books without, so far as we know, any opposition. There is no proof whatever that Elder Brewster fled to England in fear of Dutch prisons; but, so far as we know, went of his own accord, with his family, in February, 1619. It is possible that he never saw Southampton till he first saw it from the deck of the *Speedwell*. It is more than probable that he returned safely and untroubled to Leyden, late in 1619, and was with the Pilgrims in their embarkation at Delfshaven, as represented in Weir's accurate picture, and Professor Franklin Dexter's chapter in Winsor's History.

8. It has been said that while searching for Brewster at Leyden, the Dutch constable, through a confusion of names, arrested Brewer. Brewer, who was a fellow of the University, had been associated with Brewster in the printing business. It is charged that, "Thus caught, Brewer was dealt with, and after lying a long time in prison, his types being seized and his property confiscated, he was sent, under guard, home to England, to be dealt with by the government there."

To any one familiar with Dutch life in a university town of this period, this statement causes merriment. Nevertheless, it contains a fraction of the truth. The facts are these: A fiery Scotsman, supposed by Cotton to have been the Rev. John Tarbes, or, as is more probable, David Calderwood, the famous

champion of the church of Scotland and opponent of King James, had published a violent and scurrilous personal attack, virtually charging the king with perjury. This involved a point of international law, and under the treaty between Holland and England the offender, if caught, could be justly extradited. The Dutch government would not shelter anarchists; theirs was liberty under law. Sir Dudley Carleton suspected that Brewster was the printer of this libelous book, of which there is no proof. By mistake of names Brewer was apprehended. Now what happened? Brewer was not cast into the city prison; his property was not confiscated; he was not sent under guard as a prisoner to England. When the University officers heard of the British minister's purpose they took Brewer under their own charge, English subject though he was, with no fear of King James, or England, or Sir Dudley Carleton before their eyes. They then demanded that Brewer should go as a member of the University, and go of his own accord as a free man, to London, and that the British ambassador should guarantee his safe return, and, further, pay all his expenses. And all this Sir Dudley Carleton was, to his great disgust, obliged to do. So Brewer went, under no bonds, in company with a private citizen, enjoyed the picnic to London, and came back scot free with flying colors, much to the chagrin of Sir Dudley Carleton, who had to pay the bills. It is probable that Brewer, and all the Pilgrims, who at the first fuss had offered to go Brewer's bail, doubtless believing him innocent, had a good laugh over the whole affair and the discomfiture of King James and his envoy, and doubtless with admiration for the Dutch, who would not allow themselves to be insulted even by King James. It is even probable that some of the Dutchmen, along with the fiery Scotsman, the real troubler of the monarch, hugely enjoyed this "twisting the British lion's tail."

9. Finally it is alleged, on the strength of a piece of gossip set forth in the seventeenth century, fifty years after the event, that the Dutch bribed the captain of the *Mayflower* to take the Pilgrims to Cape Cod, instead of to the Hudson River.

Answer. Such a story is not only "incredible," as Professor Franklin Dexter declares, but is a palpable absurdity, unworthy of notice.

Finally, after balancing the question of remaining in Holland

and losing their identity as Englishmen, and becoming absorbed in the Dutch nation,—so many of their sons marrying Dutch wives, and their daughters Dutch men, and their boys entering the Dutch army,—or of emigrating to America, and after debating the question whether to risk the cruelty of the red Indians or the dark Spaniards, with heroic courage and sublime faith in God, the younger and stronger portion embarked on the *Speedwell*, to suffer many treacheries, hardships, and sorrows at the hands of their own English countrymen before landing on the boulder at Plymouth to begin New England.

How the Pilgrims really felt towards the Dutch and Holland, is seen in the general tone of the records they have left behind them. They picture their poverty and lowly estate, for their condition was hard. There are criticisms, also, of Dutch opinions and customs, of the way the Sabbath was kept, the fact that school education for the children was in Dutch, not English, etc. : but not in all their writings can be found one sentence that can be tortured into an expression of complaint of their treatment by the Dutch national government, by the authorities of Leyden, or by the Dutch people. On the contrary, we have two distinct and positive expressions of acknowledgment and gratitude by Governor Bradford, penned on this side of the Atlantic and on Massachusetts soil. Writing to the Dutch on Manhattan Island early in 1627, and referring to the alliance between England and Holland, he says—and remember that, as Dr. Dexter once wrote, “An ounce of matter-of-fact record at that time is worth a ton of the rhetoric of to-day”—

“Now, forasmuch as this [alliance] is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighborhood, in all our dealings ; yet are many of us tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do this day ; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever.”

Again, Oct. 1, 1627, Bradford wrote from Plymouth to Manhattan expressing his gratitude and sense of obligation, “Acknowledging ourselves tied in strict obligation unto your country and state for the good entertainment and free liberty which we

had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy under your most honorable lords and states.”

Whatever may be thought now, Bradford did not believe that Dutch hospitality to the Pilgrims was “a pleasing fiction.” It is true, unfortunately true, that some good men, professing to represent the Pilgrims, have tried to prove that Bradford was speaking the language of politeness only, and not of truth. They say he was diplomatic, and meant what he said only in the sense of modern politics. They see in this scene only the bandying of mutual flattery.

Well might the Pilgrims say, “Save us from our friends.” In our opinion, such explanations blacken the character of noble, sincere men. The Pilgrims stir our souls to noblest endeavor to-day, because we believe them to have been God’s men, brave, simple, sincere, scorning polite lies. No; Bradford, who had been first in Holland, and in all probability first advised the Pilgrim exodus thither, spoke truth and lied not.

Let us glance now at the influence of the Dutch Republic upon that great multitude of Englishmen who lived in the Netherlands during the period 1580 to 1640, mainly from whom, and during which time, New England was settled. Holland, in defying Spain and the Pope, was, during her eighty years’ struggle, fighting the battle of Protestantism and religious liberty for England as well; and England knew it. One reason of the greatness of the British Empire to-day, is that Holland once stood as her bulwark against Spain. Hundred of English merchants were settled as traders trading, and hundreds of English volunteers were fighting in the Dutch armies, as early as 1580; but it was not until the treaty of 1585, six years after the United States of the Netherlands had formed their union, and five years after they had published their declaration of independence, that large bodies of Englishmen entered the Dutch military service and drew Dutch pay. From 1585, Elizabeth agreed to furnish five thousand foot and one thousand horse for thirteen years. In addition to these six thousand men, there were three or four thousand English volunteers in the Dutch armies. After the truce of 1609, the year the Pilgrims arrived, the Dutch army was reduced to thirty thousand men, of whom five thousand were English or Scottish. This military force drew with it large numbers of merchants,

contractors, students, and serving men, besides the chaplains, and families of officers and men, swelling the average total, refugees and adventurers being counted, to probably ten thousand people annually. When, in 1498, the English merchants were expelled from Stade, in Germany, they settled first at Middleburg, in Zealand, where Browne went, and where there was an English Congregational church before that at Amsterdam or Leyden. On June 15, 1592, as we find from the Dutch archives there were manufactories of English cloth situated in twelve cities of the Netherlands; viz., at Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Gouda, Leyden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Alkmaar, Gorinchem, Enkhuysen, and The Hague. During the Dutch war of freedom, there were in all twenty-two English churches in the Netherlands, notices of which are found in the appendix to Steven's "History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam." Among the names of the ministers and church officers, are those of several who afterwards became famous in America.

This vast number of Englishmen, of all sorts and conditions, attracted by the toleration, prosperity, or military or commercial opportunities of the little republic, continued until the Dutch United States had substantially won the day. By 1648, Spain, exhausted by her vain task, having fertilized the ditches of Holland with the corpses of a third of a million of her sons, having learned that the Dutchman's "mines above ground" were more than the silver lodes of Peru and Mexico, acknowledged the independence of the republic. Long before this, however, the English soldiers and most of the merchants had returned to England, while whole congregations of aggressive Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and other Nonconformists, their nerves braced by republican air, and faces flushed with the consciousness of coming success at home, crossed the Channel to cross swords also with King Charles, and attempt the establishment of a commonwealth. Surely a crop of dragon's teeth was sown long before 1640.

Let us see what came to the surface in the four years' civil war.

1. The eastern and southern counties were Parliamentary and republican,—the eastern counties being the impregnable fortress of the commonwealth; in other words, the counties overrun by

the heretic weavers, brick-makers and brick-layers, dike-builders and land-drainers from the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, and only two or three generations before by the Dutch Protestants, and where tens of thousands of English apprentices had been trained in the homes, and in the ways, and thinking of Bible-reading men. Thousands of English children with one or more Dutch parents, and thousands of grandchildren helped to explain what suddenly came to the surface when Parliament and king crossed swords. It was the sons and grandsons of these English apprentices who formed the bulk of Cromwell's army. Further, the man who trained Cromwell in military tactics was a Hollander, Dalbier, and the first judge advocate of the Parliamentary army was Dr. Dorislaus. The Ironsides were raised and trained in the Holland districts, and a Dutch captain was the Steuben who drilled these militia into regulars who opposed the predecessor of King George. Of the men who organized the Parliamentary forces, Fairfax, Essex, Monk, Warwick, Bedford, Skippon, and others, as Masson and Carlyle show, were trained in the Netherlands.

Yet the English Commonwealth did not stand. It went to pieces within fifteen years. Why? Because England was not prepared for a republic. It had not the right land or property laws, the right jurisprudence, popular educational system, the right local and national spirit. Feudalism, the worship of rank, the power of the State church, entail, and primogeniture were all against a republic.

Yet it is possible that if the reforms proposed by the committee of the Long Parliament could have been carried out, and the preliminary work needed for a republic had been done by these reforms put in action, England might have been a republic, and be leading the world in the ideas that underlie our American democratic government. John R. Green says that for the last two hundred years, in a tentative way, England has been following out the Parliamentary army's scheme of political and social reform.

Yet where were the precedents obtained, the basis of these reforms and features found? In English history, in the English unwritten constitution? No; they are not there. They are almost every one found in Dutch history, and from thence are they

taken.* They would not work in England; the soil was not ready for the seed. Picked men, Englishmen,—not average men, but morally far above the average, and trained in, or influenced by, the Dutch republic,—brought them to America. Rejected of England, but elect and precious in God's sight, they introduced them into New England. Huguenots, Quakers, Baptists, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Dutch, brought them to the middle and southern colonies, and the great Teutonic ideas, vitalized by Christianity, took root on American soil, and their fruit is the republic of these United States. The reforms proposed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth, for which England was not ready, were carried out in America by Englishmen who had been fired with Bible ideas. To them the Old Testament became a text-book, but the Protestant republic gave them visible precedent and example. When England relapsed into monarchy,—that is, one-man power, —and Puritanism slumbered until goaded to wrath again by James II., then again the men of England looked to Holland. They took their precedent from the deposition of Philip II., and the cue of their own Declaration of Right from that of Holland's Declaration of Independence. They asked the Dutch stadtholder to cross the North Sea with his Dutch regiments, and become William III. of England.

For the original and inspiration of England's Magna Charta of 1688, see the Dutch Act of Abjuration of 1580, and put the two documents side by side, and you will see the family likeness. Chronology and style will show which is the father and which the son. When the immortal document signed July 4, 1776, is made one of the series, its genealogy is sound and sure in the order,—Dutch, English, American.

Let us turn now to American history, and see whether the Dutch Republic influenced our making. Let us look at States and groups of men. All, or nearly all, the military leaders of the colonists were trained in the Dutch armies, gaining their experience in Holland's fight against Spain—Miles Standish and Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, Lyon Gardiner of Connecticut, Sir Samuel Argal, Virginia, Leisler of New York, and many others less prominent.

* This part of the subject here glanced at, is treated at length in Mr. Douglas Campbell's work, "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America."

Massachusetts was settled by men educated eleven years in the Dutch Republic, in 1620. Their ten years' success led others to come over and settle. It was the men trained in Holland who made the Plymouth settlement a success; for the best emigrants for the next five years (or until John Robinson died), as Palfrey shows, were emigrants from Leyden. Full of charity, kindness, and toleration, their minds broadened by experience in a land where religion was free to all men, and whose people respected the rights of the Indians to the soil, their treatment of Roger Williams the radical, and of Miles Standish the Roman Catholic, was in marked contrast to what men who differed in convictions received from the Puritan immigrants. Holland was one of the first countries to cast off the delusion of witchcraft,—the first book against the superstition being by a Dutch physician, and the Pilgrims were never under its spell. Reared under a federal republic, they and their sons led in the formation of the New England Confederation, of 1643. Even in the Mayflower's cabin they had imitated the Netherlanders in having a written compact for their government.

Of the settlers of Massachusetts beyond the old colony, five sixths came from the shires of England, which had been most profoundly leavened by the opinions and presence of the Netherlands refugees. The overwhelming majority of the early ministers in New England were educated at Cambridge, spending their student life in the heart of the eastern counties. In scores of instances the family cognomen of these New England settlers are only Dutch names Anglicized, and a considerable strain of both Puritan and Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood.

Connecticut, it is believed, is the typical American Commonwealth, being even more democratic in origin and sturdy maintenance of independency and republican principles than Massachusetts or any other State, having the first regular written constitution: that is, a signed compact, which not only provided, but prescribed, a definite system of government. In that instrument elections were ordered to be by secret, written ballot. In other words, the main features of the political organization of Connecticut are not borrowed from England. Are they original? We answer, that between the details of the early political methods of Connecticut and of the Holland states, as Ulbo Emmius's famous

book shows, the likeness is that of heredity. No place in the early American colonies is so politically like a bit of the old Dutch republic as Connecticut. In political complexion, feature, and detail, in town representation, legislature, courts, detail of parliamentary proceeding, the little federal republic of Connecticut was a close copy of Friesland or Holland.

The hand of Thomas Hooker, the Cambridge graduate driven out of England to find refuge in Holland, and forced to cross part of the ocean as a stowaway, is distinctly visible in the first American written constitution. In his sermon preached before the instrument was framed, the great preacher laid down the doctrine first nationally proclaimed and obtained in the republic under whose flag Hooker had lived during four years,—that “the foundation of authority [is] laid in the free consent of the people;” “that the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God’s own allowance;” that “they who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, have the right also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.” Not only were both Hooker and Davenport, the founders of Connecticut, politically educated in Holland, but so also were a number of the chief men associated with them and leaders of the emigration.

What of Rhode Island? It was settled by a man who, whether ever in Holland or not, is not known; but this is certain,—he was a fine scholar in the Dutch language, familiar with Dutch politics and history, and taught the poet Milton Dutch. He studied and preached in the region of England overrun by Dutch Anabaptists; he was extremely beloved, and sheltered by the Pilgrims. He was banished not merely for theological reasons, but mainly because he insisted on the right of the Indians to the soil, and believed and practiced the Dutch doctrine laid down in all their charters and steadily carried out, of buying the land of the natives and paying for it, as in New York, and New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and Delaware, before occupation. In Rhode Island’s constitution was followed the precedent of toleration set by Holland.

To sum up, then, concerning New England, the men who settled it put in operation at once written constitutions, registration of deeds and mortgages, common schools, and written ballots,

besides other things having no precedent in England, but known, practiced, and seen by men in a republic. In other words, the life of English Nonconformists in England being made a burden to them, and toleration being refused at home, the colonists to New England, numbering twenty-one thousand men, had left their native land before 1640 and come to America, thousands of them by way of Holland. These settlers were not average Englishmen. As a rule, they were picked men, morally and spiritually. Many of them, especially their leaders, had breathed long and deeply the air of freedom in a republic, and so carried with them to the virgin soil of the New World, the best English traditions, reinforced by living examples and precedents of a Protestant, federal, and free republic. Hence, in settling Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, they did not reproduce English social or political life, but, by a noble reversion, they re-erected on American soil the old Teutonic institutions, and they copied largely, with improvements, exactly what they had seen in operation under the red, white, and blue flag of the United States of the Netherlands.

Of New York, the Empire State, which led all others in jurisprudence, constitutional law, and political influence on the nation, it is enough to say that it was settled by the Dutch, who transferred to the New World the republican principles in their fullness. The Dutch in America were not pilgrims or refugees. They had no need to be. Their Protestant faith, their toleration, their republicanism, were already won. Owing to an act of British treachery, committed in time of peace, by the Stuart King James, in 1664, like the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by the French Louis, the little colony of seven thousand persons in the New Netherlands had but forty-one years of peaceful development, twenty-one of which were during the fatherland's struggle for life with Spain. After the English treachery and conquest of 1664, about one half of the inhabitants of the New Netherlands returned to the Fatherland. They were not willing to live under the rule of that king whose son the English themselves drove out twenty-four years later.

The Dutch settlers brought with them something else than what Washington Irving credits them with. They had schools and schoolmasters, ministers and churches, the best kind of land

laws, with the registration of deeds and mortgages, toleration, the habit of treating the Indian as a man, the written ballot, the village community of freemen, and an inextinguishable love of liberty were theirs. They originated on American soil many things, usually credited to the Puritans of New England, but which the English rule abolished. They who remained, however, assisted by Huguenot, Scotsman, and German, though in a conquered province, fought the battle of constitutional liberty against the royal governors of New York night and day, and inch by inch, until, in the noble State constitution of 1778, the victory of 1648 was re-echoed. "Having no royal charter, the composite people of New York, gathered from many nations, but instinct with the principles of the free republic of Holland, were obliged to study carefully the foundations of government and jurisprudence. It is true that in the evolution of this commonwealth the people were led by the lawyers rather than by the clergy. Constantly resisting the invasion of royal prerogative, they formed, on an immutable basis of law and right, that Empire State which, in its construction and general features, is, of all those in the Union, the most typically American. Its historical precedents are not found in a monarchy, but in a republic. It is less the fruit of English than of Teutonic civilization."*

Pennsylvania's part in the making of the American Union is not the least. Her foundations were laid in brotherly love to the Indians, and to men of all creeds, in prayer, in faith, in profound trust in God, as truly as was Massachusetts or Connecticut. Hers was one of the most liberal of all the colonial constitutions. All faiths were tolerated, even Roman Catholic. Church and state were separate. William Penn changed prisons from nurseries of vice to models of reformatory and penal institutions; taught orphan children trades, and gave persons wrongfully accused of crime damage against the prosecutor. To Pennsylvania came the persecuted of many countries as to a holy land of peace. Here was raised the first ecclesiastical protest against slavery; and here the first book in America condemning it was written. Here, also, was printed the first Bible in a European tongue, the first treatise on the philosophy of education, the largest and most

* Preface to the author's "Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations," in the series, "Makers of America."

sumptuous piece of colonial printing; and here was the first literary center and woman's college established, in America. Pennsylvania led off in establishing the freedom of the press, in reform of criminal law, in reform of prisons, in awarding to accused persons the right of counsel for defense. In proportion to her numbers, Pennsylvania lost more men than any other Northern State during the Civil War for freedom. In not a few features now deemed peculiarly American, besides that of honoring the Lord's day, the State founded by William Penn is (despite contemporary politics), the land of first things, and the shining example.

Well, who was William Penn? He was the son of a Dutch mother, Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam. Dutch was his native language, as well as English. He was a scholar versed in Dutch law, history, and religion. He preached in Dutch, and won thousands of converts and settlers, inviting them to his Christian commonwealth. He himself wrote the grand Constitution of Pennsylvania. Were his precedents taken from English law? No! While writing that instrument he lived in Embden,—the oldest known home of the written ballot, and one of the cities of refuge to the English Protestant refugees,—with the laws of Friesland, the old home of the Anglo-Saxons, and one of the first states of the Dutch Republic, daily before his eyes.

Time would fail to tell of all the vitalizing influences, direct and indirect, of the Dutch Republic upon ours. These can be clearly discerned, not only in colonial times, but also in the revolutionary and constitution-making epochs. Was it not a kind Providence which so laid the foundation stones of our national history, that the tolerant Dutch and the peaceful Quakers were placed between Puritan and Cavalier, between Long Island Sound and Mason and Dixon's line, until Old-World feuds were swallowed up in the grander issue of the American Revolution? Can we forget how little Holland, first after France, recognized our national independence, and showed her faith in us during our dark days by a loan of fourteen millions of dollars? When after the Revolutionary war, Americans were searching all history for precedents and examples of republican government, to what nation in ancient, mediæval, or modern times did they look most closely, and copy more directly, than Holland and her republic, profiting by her faults and her costly experiences.

Well do the English critics who, in recent years only, since republics were made respectable in their eyes by the success of our Civil War, study us, say that the political writings of the framers of the American Constitution show minute familiarity with Dutch history, while the political experience of England has not been drawn upon. Well wrote Washington to Professor Luzac, of Leyden, the famous professor of history, editor, and writer on republican principles, and political teacher and correspondent of Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, and later the instructor of John Quincy Adams, "America is under great obligation to the writings of such men as you." Still more direct testimony to the influence of the Dutch Republic on the American Revolutionary leaders and makers of our national Constitution is furnished by Franklin, who wrote, "In love of liberty and bravery in the defense of it, she [Holland] has been our great example." Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, authors of "The Federalist," and so prominent in the formation of our national government, were closely allied by marriage to the Dutch families of New York, and to them, as to Madison, the father of the Constitution, the story of Holland's struggle and experience was as a household tale. "The Federalist" and their other writings show how well they utilized their knowledge, and how largely they drew upon the political experience of the United States of Holland.

Were time and space given, it could be here clearly shown that we are less an English nation than composite of the Teutonic peoples; the result of the whole continental movement of the sixteenth century, when the Bible and printing became the property of the common people. In our American commonwealth the features enumerated below were not derived from England, but were, in germ, or directly, borrowed from the Netherlands Republic. We inherit the best spirit of the Roman empire, and of the Teutonic principles, vitalized by Christianity, and the nations of the earth now borrow more from us than we from them. The main features of the American commonwealth are:—

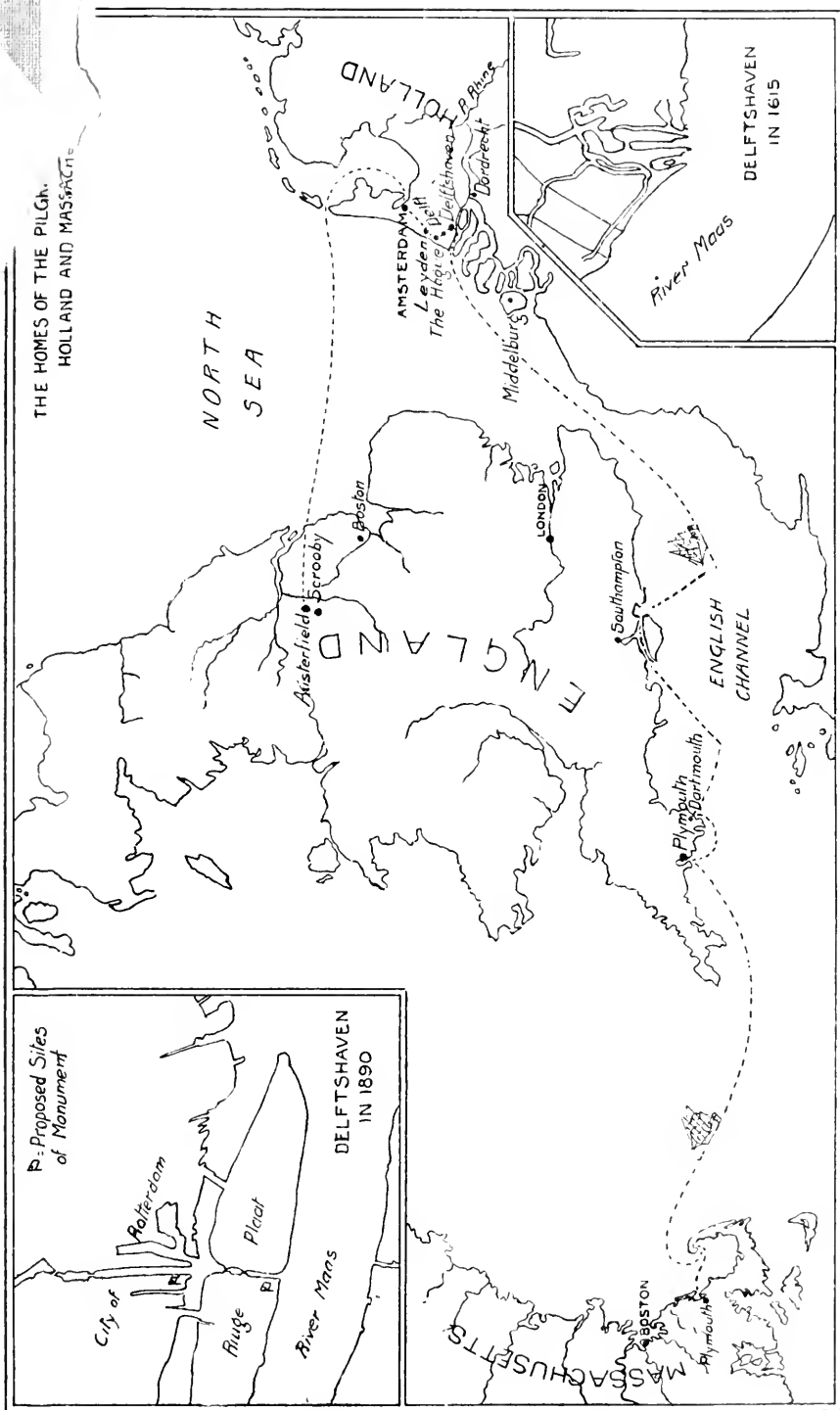
1. The principle that "all men are created equal."
2. Separation of church and state.
3. Our land laws, with the system of registration of deeds and mortgages.

4. Local self-government, from the town meeting to the "government of governments" at Washington.
5. Written constitutions prescribing and limiting the powers of rulers and departments of government.
6. Our State governors and national President, the Stadtholders of States and United States.
7. Our State Senates and national Senate, or States-General of sovereign States.
8. Our Supreme Court, and the supremacy of the judiciary.
9. Our common-school system.
10. Freedom of religion.
11. Freedom of the press.
12. The secret, written ballot.
13. Reform of criminal law.
14. Prison reform.
15. The office of District Attorney.
16. The right of counsel for defense.
17. The amalgamation of law and equity in codes.
18. Reform in the laws concerning the rights of married women.

It is less needful for me to enter into detail and proofs of the claims here made, since one more able and better versed in history and law, an American lawyer, Douglas Campbell, has wrought out the argument, and his work will soon be published.

It has been my purpose in this paper only to supplement the ordinary story of English and American history by furnishing an omitted chapter. How far I may have succeeded, you must be judges. This much, however, I believe; viz., that your proposition to erect at Delfshaven some durable token of American appreciation of both hosts and guests, Hollander and Pilgrim, is one worthy of praise, honor, and support by all Americans who honor alike the principles and the founders of the older and the younger republic. In believing that Gov. William Bradford, in 1627, spoke the truth and lied not, when acknowledging so unstintingly the kindness of Holland and the Dutchmen, he said, "for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us," you are vindicating them from the sectional or sectarian prejudice that dwarfs the character of both.

THE HOMES OF THE PILGR.
HOLLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS



Preamble and Resolutions

ADOPTED AT THE REGULAR MEETING OF
THE CONGREGATIONAL CLUB OF BOSTON,
MASS., MONDAY, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1890.

Whereas, Remembering the hospitality of the free republic of Holland so generously bestowed upon the Pilgrims, who, after twelve years residence in Amsterdam and Leyden, sailed from Delfshaven on a voyage which was completed at Plymouth Rock, it is fitting that we, members of Congregational Clubs throughout the United States, should unite in grateful recognition of Dutch hospitality, and at Delfshaven raise some durable token of our appreciation of both hosts and guests,—calling upon all Americans who honor alike the principles and the founders of the two republics to join in the enterprise. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Club heartily approves of the erection of such a commemorative monument, and that the REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D., MR. HAMILTON A. HILL, MR. WILLIAM O. GROVER,* the REV. ARTHUR LITTLE, D.D., and MR. THOMAS WESTON, be a committee in behalf of this Club to act with full power in conjunction with committees of other Congregational Clubs, and of any other appropriate organizations, to obtain the necessary funds, and to secure the erection of such a memorial.

CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN,

President.

Attest:

M. M. CUTTER,

Secretary.

Send all contributions to MR. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass., and receipts will be sent. No money to be expended until a national association is formed, but held in trust for the purpose.

*Mr. Grover being unable to serve, Mr. Frank Wood was appointed, March 27th, in his place.

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